1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
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761 life when it is classed socially with the females, gradually becomes more and more ritualized and sacred as the individual grows older and approaches death, and at death once more becomes completely spiritual and sacred. This is the life of all Murngin men. A woman, on the other hand, passes out of the sacred existence of the unborn to the profane existence of the born and living, and back again to the sacred existence of the dead; but little sacred progress is made during her lifetime.

562 Obviously the principle of the social bifurcation of the sexes has been
561 used to create the lowest status, that of women and children. The women's group remains comparatively undifferentiated, while the men's group becomes highly segmented and graded through participation in the totemic mysteries. The age-grading structure largely controls the degree of participation a man has in his society. The older men exercise their control largely through their power to say whether or not a man can go from one age grade to another. It is only they who possess the knowledge which makes up the totemic ideology.

561 The participation of a Murngin in the age-grading structure revolves around, first, his position in the immediate family structure, and, secondly, his place in the ceremonial mysteries. The life of man is divided into a number of stages marked by the *rites de passage*. The life crises of an individual, including birth, maturity, and death, are set off by elaborate rituals. These rituals correspond roughly to a man's position in the family structure. When he is circumcised he moves out of his family of orientation[6] into a men's camp; and at the time he creates his own family, that of procreation,[6] he moves into higher age grades by seeing his totems in a series of rituals. Chart I, page 11, expresses in summary fashion the relation of man's place in the social organization to his place in the age-graded ceremonial life.

562 The first principle of age grading, the sexual bifurcation by which
●155 women are excluded from participation in the totemic mysteries, immediately limits female behavior in the society and tends to simplify their personalities. The man's social personality, on the contrary, expands and becomes more complex by his participation in the various elaborate age-graded rituals. There seems to be considerable evidence for a relationship between this and a man's comparatively complex technological behavior and a woman's more simple type. The Murngin man handles more complicated tools and weapons, and uses more complex techniques in making and using them than does his female kinswoman;

[6] See Glossary of Technical Terms.

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it is one of the theses of this book that a man's social value is correspondingly more important, and his place in the rituals is partly due to and partly expresses this fact.

A man's or woman's place in Murngin society is fixed by his or her position in the kinship structure. The totality of his behavior toward all the people in his community and of their behavior in relation to him, with all the concomitant obligations, duties, and privileges, is determined by his being placed exactly in this social structure through the operation of certain mechanisms. Social space in the sense of social stratification has no vertical extension in Murngin society; but the kinship space[7] has the usual kind of vertical structure found in all kinship systems, namely, the extension which is created by the generations above and below a man (ego). Generation recognition does not extend beyond the usual five of the normal vertical kinship structure, but the lateral structure has been extended to three lines on both sides (paternal and maternal) of the line of a man's own lineage, making a total of seven.

The whole of the social organization is built on the pattern of kinship. The kinship system is the fundamental form into which the rest of the social organization has been integrated. The greater part of the behavior of the Murngin can be understood only in terms of his behavior as a kinsman. The very complex kinship structure with its seven lines of descent and five generations in each line is but an elaboration of the immediate families of orientation[8] and of procreation,[8] that is, of the family into which an individual is born and that which he creates at marriage. The underlying mechanism controlling the relations of these two families is that of asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage, which here means that a man marries his maternal uncle's daughter but not his father's sister's daughter. As will be demonstrated in other parts of this chapter, the result of this asymmetry has been to give a tremendous lateral spread to the kinship structure instead of keeping it narrowed to the two lines of descent where symmetrical cross-cousin marriage takes place.

The Murngin have doubled the count of thirty-five relatives created by five generations and seven lines of descent, through the division of each of these on the basis of brother and sister relation. In addition, by the use of the principle of age in generation, separating older

[7] See Sorokin, Pitirim A., *Social Mobility*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1927.
[8] See Glossary of Technical Terms.

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
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remains of national heroes are enshrined in notable monuments, a lock of hair is treasured, and thousands of square miles have been given over to fields of grave-stones. But the Arnhem Land nomad preserves a memento of his dead by carrying the skeleton in a bark parcel. It is a pitiful gesture of affection, but the custom is not without ingenuity, for having no settled camp the nomad carries all his possessions with him. The bones of the largest skeletons are neatly wrapped in bark; they weigh only a few pounds, need no treatment, and are practically indestructible. In large camps it is an everyday occurrence for some mother to bring out the bones of a child and wail over them in company with other female relatives.

Stone Age temperament is established in childhood. Nomads unwittingly foster the nervous and emotional characteristics in their children, who are spoiled and pampered even to the age of ten. Every whim is met, and mothers go to endless discomfort to fulfil their children's dictatorial demands. A woman returns to camp after a hard day's foraging; she is loaded with firewood, water, and food, and she also carries a child of four or five years of age until she is within a hundred yards or so of camp, when she exhaustedly puts him down to walk beside her. But instead of following her he throws himself on the ground, kicking and screaming tearlessly, till the mother's resolve is broken and she returns to bring him in. A favourite habit in soothing whimpering infants is to caress and pet their genital organs till fitful slumber claims them.

Primitive emotion is thinly veiled. Thoughts, desires, and feelings that are suppressed or camouflaged in civilized society are in aboriginal life given free play; they lie open for inspection and are accepted as natural phenomena. This unrestrained emotion does much to account for the frequent and unexpected changes in the Stone Age man's attitude, and for his alleged treachery.